



MERIDIAN

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OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELVES IN THE ARCTIC OCEAN: SOVEREIGN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Ron Macnab

INTRODUCTION

Under the terms of Article 76 of the UN *Convention on the Law of the Sea* (UNCLOS), coastal States that border on the Arctic Ocean are entitled to define Outer Continental Shelves (OCS) where they can exercise certain sovereign rights beyond the usual 200 nautical mile limit. These new shelf areas will likely occupy potentially large swaths of the High Seas in the central Arctic Ocean. Their northward convergence could also lead to contention between neighbouring States, as each strives to maximize the area of its claim. In light of anticipated complexities, this is a situation that calls for restraint and cooperation in the formulation of continental shelf claims and in the resolution of overlapping claims.

In this context, it is recommended that Canada and her Arctic neighbours establish a regional forum for maintaining a general awareness of Article 76 developments through regular consultation and exchanges of information. Such a mechanism would allow States: (a) to monitor the unfolding continental shelf scenario throughout the central Arctic Ocean; (b) to harmonize their approaches to boundary-making; (c) to anticipate incipient problems before they became firmly embedded in the claims process; and (d) to agree on courses of mutual action that would defuse poten-

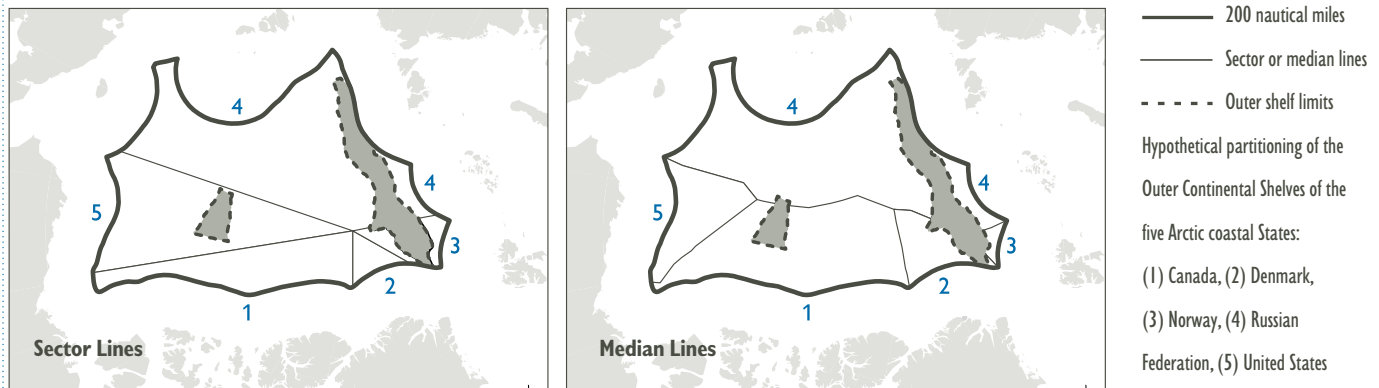
tially contentious issues at an early stage.

In adopting these actions, the Arctic coastal States would be conforming to the precepts of Part IX of the UN *Convention on the Law of the Sea*, which encourages cooperation among States that border on enclosed or semi-enclosed seas.

SOVEREIGN RIGHTS BEYOND THE EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE AND LIMITS OF THE OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF

As outlined in the Fall/Winter 2003 issue of *Meridian*, each of the five States that border the Arctic Ocean (Canada, Denmark acting on behalf of Greenland, Norway, the Russian Federation, and the United States of America) is entitled to extend its jurisdiction over a portion of the High Seas beyond its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). In the OCS that is so formed, the State will be able to exercise the following sovereign rights:

- Jurisdiction over living and non-living resources of the seabed and subsoil;
- Control over the emplacement and use of submarine cables and pipelines, artificial islands, installations, and structures;
- Regulation of drilling;
- Regulation of marine scientific research.



In 2000, an investigation suggested that the accumulated Outer Continental Shelves (OCS) of the five Arctic coastal States could potentially encompass all of the central High Seas (encircled by the 200 nautical mile limit in the images above), except for two areas (shaded in dark grey) that would remain beyond the jurisdiction of any coastal State. A subsequent analysis in 2001

To qualify for this extended jurisdiction, each State must apply the provisions of UNCLOS Article 76 in order to determine the extent of the OCS over which it proposes to exercise sovereign rights. So far, Russia is the only Arctic State to have attempted the process, and subsequent to recommendations from the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS), that country is now collecting new data with a view to strengthening the justification for its claim. The remaining four States that border the Arctic Ocean are at various stages of the process.

A preliminary investigation has shown that the OCS of all five Arctic coastal States will converge northward, and that collectively, they could encompass much if not most of the central High Seas area. This raises the question of how to partition the area equitably between the five bordering States. There are different and by no means unanimous schools of thought on how this should be accomplished. For example, one approach would be to define a series of bilateral boundaries along meridians of longitude that converge at the North Pole (see left side of Figure).

examined the hypothetical effects of two geometric approaches to partitioning the accumulated OCS: 1) sectors bounded by meridians of longitude converging at the North Pole (left image); and 2) boundaries consisting of median lines everywhere equidistant from the coastlines of adjacent or opposite States (right image).

Another approach would be to construct boundaries that consist of median lines that are everywhere equidistant from the territorial seas baselines of adjacent or opposite States (see right side of Figure). Other non-geometric approaches are possible, but will not be considered here.

Regardless of the partitioning method, it is important to remember that boundary-making is above all a political act, whereby States lay claim to regions where they consider their national interests to be paramount. In the Arctic as in any other region, the process could be stressful on account of the accommodations and compromises that will be necessary. It could also be complex, given the prospective permutations of bi- and multi-lateral boundaries.

To prepare for the prospect of confrontation or contention in the resolution of these boundaries in the Arctic Ocean, it would prove helpful to establish a regional mechanism that facilitated regular dialogue and consultation among all parties, at the political and technical levels. Frequent exchanges of this sort would enable the participating States to develop timely perceptions of the unfolding scenario, and would

help them recognize prospective problem areas that could be dealt with through early remediation.

A collective strategy that promoted communication among the five coastal States could significantly reduce the complications that would follow if States acted independently, or if they formed limited coalitions in the construction of maritime boundaries. It would permit the States to adopt a common approach to the juridical and technical aspects of Article 76, and in so doing to form a common front in their dealings with the CLCS.

In fact, three international meetings have already been held in Russia to discuss aspects of Article 76 implementation in the Arctic: in 1996, in 2000, and in 2003. These meetings were attended by specialists with expertise in the technical domain, but the discussions occurred in a vacuum owing to the lack of a diplomatic presence that could have served to place the technical issues within a broader political perspective, and which could have set the stage for regional cooperation on a government-to-government basis.

It would be highly desirable to see a continuation of these meetings, augmented by staff from Arctic foreign ministries who could engage in cross-discussions with a view to integrating technical and diplomatic

initiatives on a regional basis. Such action would conform to the provisions of Part IX of UNCLOS, which calls for cooperation between States that border enclosed or semi-enclosed seas.

THE ARCTIC OCEAN AND THE CONCEPT OF THE ENCLOSED OR SEMI-ENCLOSED SEA

Part IX of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) comprises two Articles that address Enclosed or Semi-Enclosed Seas. The first Article (122) defines an enclosed or semi-enclosed sea in part as “a gulf, basin or sea surrounded by two or more States and connected to another sea or the ocean by a narrow outlet.”

A glance at a map of the North Polar Region will confirm that the Arctic Ocean indeed satisfies both elements of the above definition. Firstly, it is surrounded by the land areas of the five Arctic coastal States, whose combined Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) form an unbroken ring around the Ocean’s periphery; this creates a free-standing High Seas area that is isolated from High Seas areas that are located elsewhere. Secondly, it is connected to other oceans by two narrow outlets: Bering Strait which leads to the Pacific Ocean, and Fram Strait to the Atlantic Ocean.

The second Article (123) of Part IX begins with the declaration that “States bordering an enclosed or semi-enclosed sea should cooperate with each other in the exercise of their rights and in the performance of their duties under this Convention.” To this end, the bordering States are encouraged to coordinate their actions in the following areas:

- The management, conservation, exploration, and exploitation of the living resources of the sea;
- The protection and preservation of the marine environment;

- Policies and programs of scientific research.

In addition, bordering States are encouraged to invite other interested States or international organizations to help realize the provisions of this Article.

Boundary determination is not specifically mentioned in Article 123. However, it is implied because adherence to its provisions requires a definition of the geographic and juridical dimensions of participating States. Hence it would be safe to conclude that there is a legal obligation for the Arctic coastal States to cooperate on a regional basis in the resolution of their maritime boundaries.

There are also practical reasons for promoting regional cooperation in the Arctic, arising from current developments of a climatic and scientific nature that are unique to the region, and which would benefit from an early resolution of boundary matters.

Global Warming and Thinning Ice

By all accounts, the permanent ice cover of the Arctic Ocean is diminishing in both thickness and horizontal extent. Predictions vary concerning the ultimate situation, but most suggest that the region will be ice-free or nearly ice-free in the foreseeable future. This development will trigger major environmental, societal, and economic changes. Faced with these significant alterations in the ocean regime that touches their shores, the bordering States will need to cope with a variety of problems, both locally and regionally. An early definition of the scope and extent of these States’ respective jurisdictions will be essential, in order to harmonize reciprocal perceptions of the zones where national interests and responsibilities apply.

The International Polar Year and Scientific Collaboration

With planning for the IPY in full swing, it seems clear that few States can hope to achieve significant research objectives in the Arctic without engaging in some form of sci-

entific partnership with other States. In fact, a guiding principle of the IPY is to promote multilateral collaboration for the purpose of achieving effective exchanges of information and efficient deployments of scientific resources.

Marine scientific research in the Arctic will require more than a sharing of information and resources: given that many unanswered questions in the Arctic transcend national boundaries, it will also be crucial to negotiate free and open access to maritime zones where coastal States have the authority to exercise control over research activities. These zones include the Exclusive Economic Zone and the Outer Continental Shelf. In keeping with the collective goals of IPY and with the spirit of Part IX of UNCLOS, it is hoped that all Arctic coastal States will adopt policies that maximize the opportunities for cooperative scientific operations within their zones of jurisdiction.

CONCLUSION

The Arctic Ocean is a region that is undergoing rapid transition from the political and environmental standpoints. Various mechanisms are in place to manage or to cope with these transitions, but more effort is needed to achieve politically and technically coordinated approaches in the delimitation of the Outer Continental Shelves of the five coastal States. Greater levels of cooperation in this domain could be expected to ensure an equitable partitioning of zones of extended jurisdiction, and to establish a framework for future collaboration that would promote wise use of this important Ocean.

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SOME INUIT PERSPECTIVES ON WORKING WITH SCIENTISTS

Gita J. Laidler

Successful research in Inuit communities, especially where the project aims to incorporate local expertise, requires an excellent working relationship with Inuit. Therefore, understanding Inuit perspectives on researchers, and what they consider a mutually beneficial research relationship, is essential for northern scientists. This article shares some responses to interview questions that I posed to Inuit elders and hunters about working with scientists, as part of my Ph.D research. My hope is that this exchange may help some researchers – myself included – better understand, and thus re-

spond to, community perspectives on northern research and those who undertake it.

My own research involves sea ice, which is an integral component of Inuit life as well as the pre-eminent focus of numerous scientific studies (Figure 1). In the past few decades sea ice has often been used as an indicator of climate change. The shrinking of sea ice extent or thinning ice cover not only responds to warming, but also contributes to enhanced change through positive climate feedback loops. Efforts to assess the vulnerability of Inuit communities to such changes necessitate the involvement of Inuit themselves. Therefore, scientific

interest in assessing sea ice change and simulating climate scenarios has become intertwined with Inuit concerns for their lifestyles, livelihoods, travel safety, and marine mammal health. Inuit want their voices heard: they want to share their own observations, to be involved in research, and

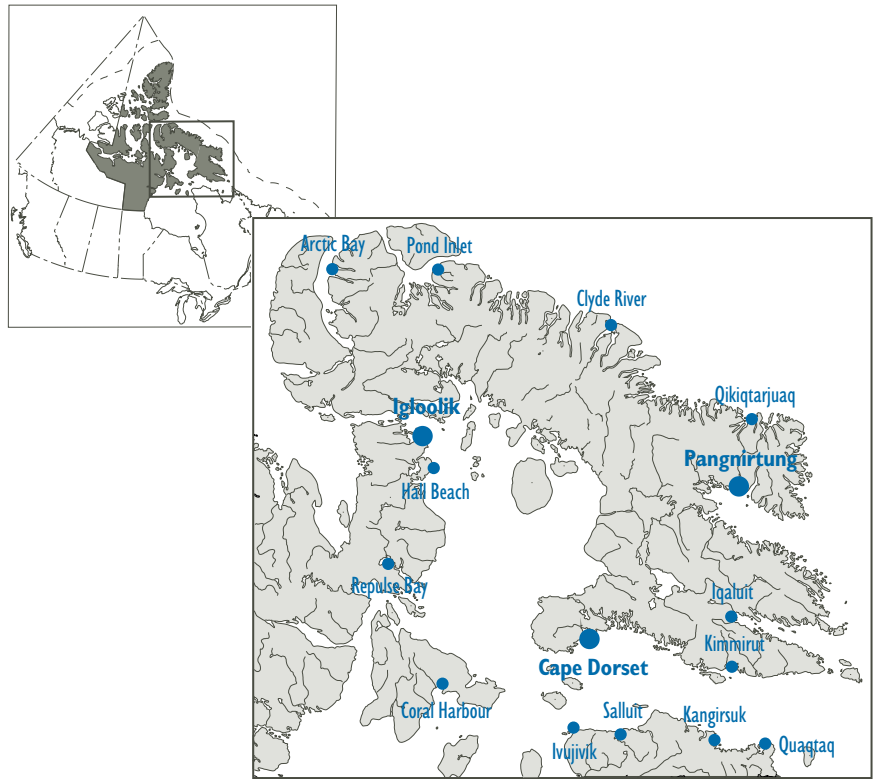
Figure 1
Hunters watching for seals at a polynya (area of open water that does not freeze throughout the winter) just southwest of Cape Dorset Island. Polynyas are important hunting grounds because of the prevalence of marine wildlife that need open water for access to air or food. Polynyas are also of great interest to scientists as they allow heat and moisture exchange between the atmosphere and the ocean, influencing local and regional climates. Photo: G. Laidler.



to be taken seriously in assessing impacts that directly affect their lives. Scientists are thus having to respond to community, political, and institutional pressures to consult with, involve, and/or report their findings to Inuit in communities across Canada.

Understanding some of the social and cultural dynamics influencing community-researcher relationships in the Canadian north is critical to learning from Inuit about the sea ice. This also facilitates my goal of intersecting Inuit and scientific knowledge of sea ice in a complementary fashion. My Ph.D research focuses on documenting Inuit expertise on sea ice conditions, use, and variability. It also aims to compare the results of community-based monitoring with scientific knowledge in the same areas, and to evaluate a collaborative methodology through which sea ice information from local and scientific sources could be gathered and used to complement each other. This work will contribute to the identification of collaborative research or monitoring needs (local, natural or social science) relevant to issues of importance to Nunavut communities. My fieldwork is now complete, and I am in the process of analyzing the overwhelming amount of detailed information that Inuit elders and hunters have shared with me.

Because the issue of research relationships between Inuit and scientists underlies the entire research process, methodology has increasingly become a point of reflection during field work and analysis. Challenges or opportunities arose depending on a person's past experiences with scientists or perspectives on what researchers do and why. For a researcher to learn from Inuit, or to link Inuit and scientific knowledge, Inuit first have to be interested in working with researchers. To determine what community members think of working with scientists I asked into: 1) previous experiences with researchers; 2) methods of research reporting; and, 3) views on working with scientists.



RESEARCH PROCESS

In two years (September 2003 – June 2005) I spent a total of nearly three months in each of Pangnirtung and Cape Dorset, Nunavut, and nearly two months in Igloolik, Nunavut, where considerable research has already been undertaken by the Nunavut Research Institute.

The length of time spent in each community, including several repeat visits, was valuable in gaining community interest and commitment for ongoing participation in my project. In total I conducted 84 semi-directed interviews with 63 different people, 21 in each community. All were locally recommended sea ice experts and were highly respected in their communities. I used a general list of questions, but interviewees were free to expand or redirect the discussions as they saw fit. In addition to experiences and perspectives on working with researchers

the interviews, which lasted from one to three hours, mainly focused on: 1) Inuktitut sea ice terminology; 2) the importance and uses of sea ice (for humans and animals); 3) the influences of winds and currents on sea ice formation, decay, or movement; and 4) rare or notable sea ice features or events. A few interviewees found the interviews too short, and would have liked to have been able to provide more information.

I participated in 14 sea ice trips, which were considered essential by many interviewees and from which I learned a great deal (Figure 2). I also facilitated four focus groups to link Inuktitut ice terminology to photos I had taken on the sea ice trips. The goal was to provide a visual reference and learning tool for Inuit youth, scientists, or the public.

All individuals mentioned here consented to public release of their statements, and to being identified by name. I conducted most interviews with the help of an interpreter, as most elders and active hunters were unilingual Inuktitut speakers and I have very limited knowledge of this lan-

guage. Only the portions discussing research experiences and working with scientists are presented here. It must be emphasized that these perspectives are not meant to represent those of all Inuit, or even of the entirety of each community. They are the thoughts and experiences of the people who participated in my sea ice project, and indicate some of the recurring issues concerning research in their communities.

EXPERIENCE WITH RESEARCHERS IN PANGNIRTUNG

In Pangnirtung 15 interviewees stated they had previously been involved in research about a range of topics, including: life in the past, wildlife, sea ice, weather, climate change, clouds, minerals, lakes, glaciers, carving, hunting, and travel safety. Six had assisted in data collection such as beluga or arctic char tagging, lake coring, and mineral sampling. Three had been guides, taking researchers to field sites, and one had taught in a university summer field school.

Financial compensation was considered the main benefit to research involvement. However, concern was frequently expressed about the lack of results reporting. If no report was provided to the community then the research was not considered beneficial or useful.

EXPERIENCE WITH RESEARCHERS IN CAPE DORSET

In Cape Dorset eight of the interviewees had been involved in research. Two more had worked as guides, without being involved in research. Common research topics included: art, place-name mapping, climate and weather, skin clothing, and wildlife. Two had also taught practical sea-ice safety classes for children.

Interviewees said that results did not come back to the community, causing am-

bivalence about whether or not research was beneficial. However, if the work was helping other people then some did consider it a benefit. Interviewees wanted to hear back about research results and to know what happened to the information they had provided. Two also had project ideas of their own, but were unable to secure funding.

EXPERIENCE WITH RESEARCHERS IN IGLOOLIK

In Igloolik 13 interviewees had been involved in research, and another had worked as a guide without participating in research. Topics included: sea bottom animals, fish, marine mammals, plants, and a variety of Inuit traditional knowledge topics. Several people had also: 1) participated in the Igloolik Oral History Project of the Inullariit (elders') Society, run through the Nunavut Research Institute; 2) worked with Isuma Productions (producers of the feature film *Atanarjuat*) on Inuit heritage; 3) worked for the Nunavut Research Institute; or 4) made their own videos. Elders and hunters in Igloolik seemed more actively involved in research. Seven had been research assistants, collecting samples for biologists, geologists, or photographers, while four had worked as guides, and two as interpreters. One, a former wildlife officer, had worked with numerous biologists and other scientists, and had developed survival courses and materials.

Here too, payment was considered the main benefit. There was also consistent frustration with the lack of results reporting from researchers. It seemed as though the information "just vanished" or was used by researchers for profit. It is understood that results are often published in scientific journals, but community members would have to look hard to find them. However, some results of wildlife filming were seen on television and this seemed to be appreciated.

RESEARCH REPORTING

The statements below are only two of many that speak of a lack of research reporting.

[A]round town here, or in other communities, [I don't] see or hear research results being made public. It's as if all the people that have interviewed [me] over the last few years have forgotten about [me]. They say they'll bring information back to the community, but they don't. (Mangitak Kellypalik, Cape Dorset)

[I'm] not trying to pick bones with anybody; [I] just [want] to know exactly what is behind it all. You know, in my view there has been a lot of research done for personal benefit. They get paid for it and we get no feedback and no results. (Joanasie Maniapik, Pangnirtung)

In Pangnirtung, ten people had not heard back from researchers they had worked with, while there were three in Cape Dorset and four in Igloolik. Individuals who had not heard back, especially when they had been promised correspondence, thought that the information may have been sold or simply thrown away.

Where reports have been made, methods have included: verbal presentations through community organization meetings, maps, written materials (not sent directly to individuals), meeting reports, letters of appreciation, health precautions or advisories, weights of marine mammals studied, and posters. I asked what people felt would be the most appropriate, or effective, ways of getting research results to community members. Suggestions included: presenting results at a community meeting, or over community radio; making them available in person, or by audio, video, or the internet (but internet speed and access can be a problem); any written materials should be in English and Inuktitut (but not everyone

can read or pays attention to written material); and making the material available to schools.

WORKING WITH SCIENTISTS

Despite dissatisfaction with reporting and the ambivalence some community members expressed regarding research benefits, the elders and hunters interviewed remain generally interested in research and are willing to work with scientists on topics they consider important.

[I just want] to ensure that the research that's being done is put on paper and that it is made available for public infor-

Figure 2
Travelling across Fury and Hecla Strait, north of Igloolik Island, in mid-June, 2005. Learning about melt stages, conditions, and travel safety is best done through experience on the ice. Photo: G. Laidler.



mation; and also to ensure that you do not edit it so much that we're losing the true contents of what was said. Because that's been done in the past, [I want] to ensure that everything is used, for the benefit of our children. (Moseese Nuvaqiq, Pangnirtung)

The majority of people interviewed believe that it is a good idea for Inuit and scientists to work together (*i.e.*, 48 out of the 52 people who were asked "Do you think that Inuit and scientists should, or could, work together in studying the sea ice?"), and a variety of reasons were provided.

Scientists Should Learn from Inuit
Many interviewees said that if scientists want to learn about arctic environments they should be consulting and learning from Inuit.

In the 1970s the Inuit battled and fought

with scientists, wildlife officials, because Inuit were using the knowledge they already had, what they had already experienced. Every time [the Inuit] tried to explain something to the qallunaat, [southerners] the qallunaat would say "no, that is not true, we have our own theory, this is how we see it". They were being what you call in Inuktitut "backward people": they think they have understanding, but in reality they do not. And [I'm] always hopeful that the scientists can get off their high chairs and come down to being human – human enough to understand the Inuit way of life. This is the life that [we've] lived, and [we] know what [we're] talking about. So [I'm] just hopeful that [we] can work together, for a better future. (Lazarusie Ishulutak, Pangnirtung)

It was felt that if scientists are not consulting local Inuit experts they are taking the long way around and will be less efficient.

Benefits for Both Scientists and Inuit

The general view was that working together can be beneficial to both Inuit and scientists, as they learn from each other. If they each do their own studies, more mistakes can occur; by working together they can keep an eye on each other. Hunters saw themselves as having the knowledge about ice conditions and the environment, and scientists as having the technology and the ability to put it all together. Inuit knowledge was considered more concrete and practical, while scientific knowledge was more abstract, or uncertain.

Let's say we go back to the '60s: we are nothing to scientists – we are just poor smiling Eskimos to them, they know everything. I got this information from my uncles. They used to get frustrated trying to explain to a scientist who would not believe [them]. They lived in the area, and they knew a lot of things. And then the scientists would come in, and they're from a university, so they think they know everything. The scientists would treat the whole of Baffin Island as if it was the same. But if you go to Qikiqtarjuaq it's different [from Pangnirtung] – every place is different – so sometimes we seem to be lying when we try to explain something to the scientist. Because he has a written text that was done in Pond Inlet or somewhere, he tries to use it in the Pangnirtung area. But Pangnirtung is totally different from Pond Inlet, so it doesn't apply. It's a lot more understandable when they work together. Nowadays – it's 2000 now, not the '60s – it's a lot easier to explain. We are trying to work with the traditional knowledge, to compare it to western science. Where they don't fit together, you

have to go around that and try to explain it to both sides, and sometimes they don't understand. But the most frustrating thing is, we don't have even grade 12, but the scientists have a university degree. That's a difficult situation – we don't have grade 12, so he doesn't believe what we are saying. But we live here. [It's] like being a father. The kid is trying to be the boss when he wants something, and at first it's very hard to stop him doing that eh? It's like scientific and traditional knowledge colliding. (Jooelee Papatsie, Pangnirtung)

In the long run, working together was seen as providing more information on ice conditions and change and improving the quality of the findings.

Access to Research Results

Interviewees said that by working with scientists Inuit would have more access to research results and to other information of interest to them. They would also have more say in defining research topics.

Gaining Respect:

Putting Knowledge in Writing

Some elders felt their knowledge would be more respected if they worked with scientists.

What [I notice] about today, for example, is that the youth won't believe [my] knowledge if it's not written down. They're more into written material, something that they can see, and if a scientist has done a study on ice and that is presented to the youth, more than likely they will believe him because he has something written. Even though [I've] got all that information in [me], because [I don't] have anything written they won't believe [me] as much as they do the researcher. So therefore, [I find working

together] beneficial in that the hunter's knowledge becomes documented. (David Irgaut, Igloodik)

Working with scientists would mean Inuit knowledge could be written down, and thus made more accessible to youth through books or in the schools.

[I've] begun to understand more of how scientists work in trying to gather information. And the reason why [I'm] accepting it now is that [I'm] thinking of the future of our children and our grandchildren, so they will have something on paper to help them understand how the changes have evolved over time, and especially for the rest of the world so they can understand the environment that we live in. (Mosese Nuvaqiq, Pangnirtung)

In general the elders and hunters want to teach others, especially the younger generations. Therefore, working with scientists is an additional way that they can pass along their knowledge.

Concerns for Collaboration

Despite the generally positive response to my question about working together, interviewees expressed many concerns regarding the practicality of collaborating with scientists. These included: conflicting personalities, conflicting knowledge bases and tools used to study the ice, language barriers, decision-making (who is in charge, and how receptive they are to suggestions, especially regarding sea ice travel), superiority (scientists were deemed dominant), the choice of factors to consider in sea ice or wildlife studies, and appropriate payment.

To facilitate more collaborative research, Inuit elders and hunters in all three communities provided the following suggestions as to how scientists could improve working relationships that are perceived to have been science-biased for too long: 1) researchers should work in communities more frequently, as Inuit prefer face-to-face interactions; 2) researchers should work in

communities for longer periods of time; 3) researchers should be more visible in communities; 4) researchers should inform communities of their research results more often, and not only when something drastic happens; 5) reports should be translated into Inuktitut; 6) there should be a fair sharing of knowledge; 7) an elder or hunter should learn as much from the scientist as the scientist does from the Inuk; 8) researchers should help hunters access satellite imagery or other information of interest; 9) researchers should be willing to learn from Inuit; 10) researchers should get more hands-on experience with sea ice; 11) community members should be invited on icebreakers when they are anchored near town; 12) researchers should inform community members where field camps will be set up; 13) Inuit knowledge should be considered in addressing complex northern topics; 14) Inuit and researchers should come to an understanding of how to work together; 15) researchers should work with the most knowledgeable Inuit with regards to traveling or hunting on the sea ice (usually referring to elders) because not everyone uses the ice frequently and thus not everyone has equal knowledge of sea ice; 16) researchers should consider hiring fewer people, for a longer period of time, to go into more detail on a particular topic.

LESSONS LEARNED

In conclusion, I wish to highlight a few of the lessons that I have learned from Inuit community members. I have avoided detailed analysis of these perspectives, as I prefer to let the major points presented here, and the interview excerpts, speak for themselves.

Skepticism about Research

There is ongoing skepticism about researchers and their motives, which may stem from misunderstandings about the purpose of research or previous unpleasant research experiences. Examples include beliefs that:

- scientists provide misleading information, mainly on wildlife (scientific results *vs.* local observations and experience, conflicts over harvesting quotas);
- information given by community members has to be purchased to bring it back; and,
- researchers are profiting financially, and in their professional reputation, from the information they are given.

[The researcher's] frame of mind would be they come in, they get the information, and they use it out there on their own behalf. "Forget what this guy said" – that was their mentality then and that's one of the reasons why [I] never really got to working with them, even though [I] would have been able to work with them.

(Arsene Ivalu, Igloolik)

Unilingual hunters, and especially elders, have had less direct interaction with scientists, and are not very familiar with the processes or purpose of research – if you are not going to be using the ice, why would you study it? For these reasons, some place more confidence in the utility and reliability of Inuit knowledge. On the other hand, bilingual hunters, especially those who have participated in the formal education system (*i.e.*, middle-aged Inuit who have experienced both traditional Inuit education and southern schooling) have a better grasp of both the advantages, and challenges, of working with scientists. Therefore, the middle generation of Inuit may be the greatest proponents, or opponents, of northern research.

Importance of Interpreters

The importance of a skilled and committed interpreter cannot be overemphasized. Misunderstandings can be amplified if translations are unclear, if the interpreter is not supportive of the research, or if the interpreter is not allowed to make suggestions for improving questions or clarifying responses. Without effective language skills in both English and Inuktitut, the subtleties of interview responses can be lost. I was very fortunate to have worked with four excellent interpreters: Theo Ikummaq, Pootoogoo Elee, Andrew Dialla, and Eric Joamie. From them I learned a great deal about the process of research – and interpersonal dynamics – in each community.

Reporting Back to the Community

Based on preliminary research visits and meetings, along with concerns for lack of research reporting discussed in interviews, I prepared a brief two-page trip summary report after each visit. English and Inuktitut versions were sent back to interested community organizations and to individuals and interpreters who were involved in the interview process. Several people told me they appreciated receiving the summary. This individual reporting was valuable because reports provided only to community groups or organizations are not always widely distributed or publicized. Without reports going back to individuals, many thought that results were not coming back to the community.

Frequently Asked Questions

While interpreters had mentioned to me that Inuit, and elders especially, do not like to ask many questions, I provided a chance within the interview setting for people to ask me questions. These are just a few examples of some of the most frequently asked questions: Who is paying for this project? Where do you come from? Who do you work for (implying concerns for links with government, or environmental activists)? Will you be getting

out on the sea ice to learn? Why are you doing this work? What are you hearing from other communities about the sea ice? Are you part of a research group, or working alone? Will the information collected be mixed with scientific findings? Will the maps from this study be used in a university for learning purposes? When will the information from this study be made available?

In addition, more personal questions encouraged self-reflection: Are my answers what you are looking for? Do southerners know about the information that has been shared in the interview? Have you noticed any changes in the weather where you live? Do you enjoy the north? Do you enjoy this work? What is the biggest thing in your life that you are thankful for?

Answering these questions at the end of interviews, as well as thinking about them at later times, was very valuable in refining research questions, direction, and process through the duration of the project.

Working Together

Elders in the three Nunavut communities emphasized that even though not everyone uses the sea ice, it is still important to understand its behaviour and to be able to travel on it. They felt that despite the fact that there is no way to control the environment, at least by working together with scientists more could be understood about ice conditions, and changes that are happening. Elders want to share what they know and are concerned about losing the knowledge base as their generation passes on.

We don't have a choice anymore. [We need to] get the information from our elders that they have on the land and on the sea ice. And with the cooperation of scientists and the elders we may be able to have more information not only for

the hunters today, but for the benefit of our children, and their children. (Mosesee Nuvaqiq, Pangnirtung)

I think the more that we as researchers can communicate the purpose of our studies, report back on our results, and involve community members in any feasible manner, we can improve mutual understanding and increase the benefits of research in the Canadian Arctic. Some researchers have always worked this way; increasingly, Inuit communities are demanding that this become the common approach. Both Inuit knowledge and scientific knowledge need to be considered where topics of common interest are concerned. The more we can work towards reciprocal research relationships, in an atmosphere of mutual respect, the more we will be able to learn from each other.

All researchers and university students that come up here to do research have to be aware of the knowledge that they are being given. They have to respect the knowledge that they are being given. And they have to make sure that the knowledge that they receive is used for the proper purposes. (Levi Evic, Pangnirtung)

Acknowledgements

(in memory of Mosesee Nuvaqiq and Etidlouie Petaulassie)

I am grateful to all the community members of Pangnirtung, Cape Dorset, and Igloodik who have participated in, or supported, my research. This research is generously funded by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Doctoral Fellowship, a Canadian Polar Commission Scholarship, the Society of Women Geographers Evelyn L. Pruitt National Fellowship for Dissertation Research, and University of Toronto fellowships. Grants from the Ocean Management Research Network (OMRN), the Northern Scientific Training Program (NSTP), the Cryosphere System in Canada

(CRYSYS) program, ArcticNet (Theme 4.2), and the Northern Ecosystem Initiative (NEI) have provided field work and research funding. Many thanks are extended to Vincent Robinson, John Bennett, and Gail Guy for their thoughtful comments used to refine this article.

Interviewees

The following people discussed research relationships in their interviews, and their statements form the basis of this article.

Cape Dorset: Etulu Etidlouie, Ashevak Ezekiel, Mattewsie Joanassie, Sandy Kelly, Mangitak Kellypalik, Jimmy Manning, Oqu-taq Mikigak, Adamie Nuna, Iqadluq Nun-gusuituq, Aleka Parr, Etidlouie Petaulassie, Ningeoseak Peter, Oqsuralik Ottokie, Paulassie Pootoogook, Kanayuk Solomonie, Simigak Suvega, Quvianaquliaq Tapaungai.

Igloodik: Samuelie Ammaq, David Angutikjuaq, David Aqiaruq, Zacharias Aqiaruq, Maurice Arnatsiaq, Theo Ikummaq, Eugene Ipanak, David Irgaut, Arsene Ivalu, Enuki Kunuk, Nathan Qamaniq, Daniel Qattalik, Levi Qaunaq, Anthony Qrunnut, Augustine Taqqaugak, Abraham Ulayuruluk, Louis Uttak.

Pangnirtung: Joavee Alivaktuk, Levi Evic, Manasa Evic, Jaco Ishulutak, Lazarusie Ishulutak, Joanassie Maniapik, Manassie Maniapik, Jamesie Mike, Enoosie Nashalik, Manassie Noah, Lootie Nowyook, Mosesee Nuvaqiq, Joeelee Papatsie, Peterosie Qappik, Joopa Soudluapik.

Gita Laidler is a Ph.D candidate in Geography at the University of Toronto. She was awarded the 2004 Polar Commission Scholarship.



REPATRIATION AND COLLABORATIVE DIGITAL MEDIA PROJECTS IN NORTHERN ATHAPASKAN COMMUNITIES

Kate Hennessy

In the last three years I have been working on collaborative language documentation and multimedia projects with the Beaver First Nation in northern Alberta and the Doig River First Nation in northeastern British Columbia. While repatriation usually refers to the return of cultural artifacts and human remains by museums to source communities, I am examining the role of digital archives and multimedia as tools for repatriating language materials and cultural documentation, such as photographs, film, and audio and video recordings. Through participatory ethnography, and by working as a videographer, trainer, and multimedia producer, I explore the ways in which local control over technology, authority over repatriated material culture, and linguistic and cultural documentation can facilitate important community-defined processes aimed at defending autonomy, rights to traditional lands and resources, revitalizing the Beaver language, and building relationships between elders and youth.

This approach stems from fundamental changes that the Native American Graves

Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) has brought to the relationship between museums and local communities, as well as other developments that show greater recognition of the rights of indigenous people to their cultural property.

REPATRIATION

Under NAGPRA, passed in 1990 by the United States Congress, American museums must create an inventory of their Native American collections, in consultation with tribal representatives and federal agencies, and determine the cultural affiliation of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.¹ Responding to this precedent, and to community demands for greater accountability,

1. Christina F. Kreps, 2003. *Liberating Culture: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation and Heritage Preservation*. New York and London: Routledge.
2. Jennifer Kramer, 2004. *Figurative Repatriation: First Nations 'Artist Warriors' Recover, Reclaim, and Return Cultural Property through Self-Definition*. *Journal of Material Culture* 9(2):161–182. p.163

museums around the world are now also looking to digital media and Internet technology as a way to make collections more available to communities, and to address inherent imbalances in power.

Jennifer Kramer, anthropologist and curator at the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology, has suggested that the desire for repatriation is "the desire to obtain the right to self-define who one is as an individual and as a First Nation".² Using digital archives and multimedia to bring language resources and cultural history home to First Nations communities constitutes a form of repatriation that facilitates self-representation and control over language and culture education initiatives. From this perspective, alienating physical objects from communities by holding them in museums where access is restricted also

Figure 1

Dane-zaa youth document stories of survival and ingenuity at Snare Hill. July 2005. Photo: P. Biella. © Doig River First Nation.

alienates the processes of cultural transmission – through stories, songs, ritual activity, and everyday usage, for example – linked to the artifacts.³ Essential elements of cultural and social processes, these objects play an important role in producing and strengthening individual and community identity.⁴ Repatriation is therefore seen as a fundamental step in returning control over these processes to communities. The experiences of museums working with source communities to repatriate objects is useful for the development of ethnographic methods that, based on collaboration and guided by aboriginal perspectives on land, language, learning, and teaching, can lead to representations of cultures that have greater meaning for communities.

B E A V E R L A N G U A G E D O C U M E N T A T I O N

Since 2004 I have worked with linguistic anthropologists Pat Moore from the University of British Columbia, and Dagmar Jung from the University of Cologne, on a Volkswagen Foundation-funded project to document the Beaver language, focusing on narratives of place and place names. From the beginning of our collaboration with the Beaver First Nation, which is close to High Level, Alberta, and the Doig River First Nation, near Fort St. John, British Columbia, we have looked for ways to align the goals for language documentation with those of the local communities.

Linguistic documentation projects, particularly those using digital technology, can either reinforce unequal access to archived language resources, or improve com-

munity access with user-friendly interfaces and culturally relevant educational materials. Technologies used in documenting and archiving language tend to reflect a Eurocentric and increasingly old-fashioned approach. Based on claims to indigenous people's cultural property rationalized by arguments for science, or for preserving a record for "humanity", this approach tends to ignore what can be done to revitalize language, and instead looks only to a future in which it is assumed that languages are inevitably fading into non-existence. There are strong parallels with the kind of early "salvage anthropology" that rationalized the removal of so much cultural property from communities and into museums.

The Volkswagen Foundation is currently funding the documentation of endangered languages from around the world. As of May 2005, 29 teams were working and uploading documentation into the DoBeS (*Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen*) archive. While the DoBeS archive is accessible over the Internet, funding is not dependant on making resources available to source communities, or on ensuring that communities even have appropriate computer resources with which to access the archive. It is up to the researcher alone to determine who will have password access to the archived language materials, and which recorded materials are made available to the community. Researchers with no interest in language revitalization may not consider community access a priority. The unfortunate result of this could be language resources stored in an archive that is completely inaccessible to the source community.

Recognizing the inherent limitations of the DoBeS archive for language revitalization efforts, Pat Moore, Dagmar Jung, and I have looked for other, more collaborative ways to ensure community access to

their language resources. Working with the Beaver First Nation in the summer of 2004, we focused Beaver language video and audio documentation on locally identified themes such as horses and berry picking, and their relation to place and place names. With the material we produced language lessons on DVDs for the local elementary school's Beaver language program. These began with thematic vocabulary, then progressed to increasingly complex sentence constructions leading to longer related narratives. Elders recognized in the community for their expertise in the Beaver language determined the content of these language lessons. Our goals were: 1) To contextualize language resources by letting the interests and knowledge of language consultants determine the theme of the language lessons; 2) to facilitate community control over the use of recording technology; and 3) to experiment with ways to define language documentation and research strategies so that the raw digital material is useable in a variety of community and academic language initiatives.

This project represents the beginning of a process to reconcile the Beaver First Nation need for usable tools for language revitalization with those of the linguistic researchers who are securing a clear and usable record of the language. The goals of researchers and community members do not have to be mutually exclusive, as a long and ever-changing history of museum collecting and curating has shown us. Research methods grounded in collaboration can help bring control of their language resources back into the hands of communities.

3. Christina F. Kreps, 2003. *Liberating Culture: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation and Heritage Preservation*. New York and London: Routledge.

4. Patrick Eisenlohr, 2004. Language Revitalization and New Technologies: Cultures of Electronic Mediation and the Reconfiguring of Communities. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33:21–45.

BEAVER LANGUAGE
AND COMMUNITY
MEDIA PROJECTS

While my work with the Beaver First Nation is only just beginning, I have been involved with the Doig River First Nation for the last several years as a web design and video production mentor. In the summer of 2005, folklorist Amber Ridington and I began the production stage of a web-exhibit of Dane-zaa story and song, funded by the Virtual Museum of Canada, an online gateway to museums across the country. At the core of the project was youth training in video production, supported by the Northeast Native Advancement Society (NENAS) in Fort St. John. Young people worked with video instructors – Peter Biella, a visual anthropologist from San Francisco State University, and me – and with Dane-zaa elders to record narratives in Beaver or English, which are now being translated, transcribed, and edited for display in the web-exhibit. Pat Moore and Julia Miller assisted the group with the documentation of these narratives, which have constituted significant elements of the Volkswagen Foundation-funded Beaver language project.

The Doig River Chief, Council, and community members agreed that the website should focus on story and song. In par-

5. Robin Ridington, 1988. *Trail to Heaven: Knowledge and Narrative in a Northern Native Community*. Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre.

ticular, it was important to contextualize the songs as central elements of Dane-zaa ceremonial life, in which people dance to songs “brought back from heaven” by Dreamers, also referred to as Prophets. Located genealogically in the Dane-zaa kinship universe, these Dreamers are also thought to have prophesied the coming of Europeans to Dane-zaa territory.⁵ The way in which stories and songs would be recorded, however, what kinds of stories and songs would be recorded, and which of these were appropriate to share over the Internet, were also discussed at a series of meetings attended by Band Chief and Council, elders, and youth involved in the project.

Chief Gary Oker helped community members understand the project’s potential by bringing an important object to one of the first of these planning meetings: a moose hide drum skin, separated from its frame, ragged along its edges and torn on one side. It was painted in red and black, depicting two “trails” leading to a central circle, and from that circle, a single trail leading outward. One side of the image is painted solid red; the other, solid black. Chief Oker explained that the drum skin had come into his possession when its former owner, his grandfather, died. It had since been stored in a closet in his house. Elders in the room recognized the drum, and began to speak in Beaver about it. They identified it as having been made by the Prophet Gaahyae almost a hundred years before. Even though the

drum skin had never left the community, it had been removed from circulation, particularly after the death in 1976 of the “last” Dane-zaa Dreamer and the ensuing decline of the practice of Prophet traditions.

As such, the drum skin’s reintroduction to the community paralleled that of a repatriated object. Dane-zaa youth, the Chief, and other community members took turns interpreting the drawings on the drum and explaining what it meant to them to see the drum, making the old Dreamer’s drum relevant to present experience. Elder Tommy Attachie, for example, used the drum as a starting point from which to articulate the many levels of connection between the drum skin and Dane-zaa social, religious, political, and cultural history. He used the drum as an opportunity to talk about traditional practices such as hunting. He talked about the place where a moose was killed, and where its hide was scraped and used to make this drum. He talked about the Prophet Gaahyae, who brought a song from heaven, and painted the map of the trail to heaven on that drum. He referred to other Dane-zaa prophets, linking them genealogically to Gaahyae and members of the present community. He used the drum to talk about how things have changed, referring to times “before the seismic” [meaning the

Figure 2
Tommy Attachie discusses the Dane-zaa Dreamer Gaahyae’s drum at a community meeting about the Virtual Museum of Canada website. July 2005. Photo: P. Biella. © Doig River First Nation.





Figure 3
Recording narratives of place at Peterson's Crossing, July 2005. Photo: P. Biella. © Doig River First Nation.

seismic cut-lines used in oil and gas exploration] and some of the things he remembered about growing up before the establishment of the reserve.

Significantly, Tommy Attachie used the story of this drum to define the process of curating the website. He directly instructed the elders present at the meeting to travel to places in the territory where the Dreamers had been, and to tell the young video team important stories about the way things were in the past. Soon after recording this narrative, other elders, such as Billy Attachie and Sam Acko, decided that it was time to get started. We had not yet translated what Tommy had said, but it was clear that certain community members had understood and were ready to act. Within an hour, the Band's fifteen-passenger van and three pick-up trucks were loaded with a dozen elders and the crew. We drove thirty minutes to Peterson's Crossing, the former home of the Prophet Oker, and the location of the Catholic day school that many of the elders had been required to attend as children. As the youth video team set up their shot, Tommy made sure that the old stone chimney – all that remained of the school – was visible in the frame. In turn, as directed by Tommy, elders sat in front of the camera and told “the important stories”.

In the following two weeks, the group traveled to five locations in northern British Columbia and Alberta that had been important camps and seasonal resource areas, now surrounded, and in some cases, obscured, by oil wells, highways, and natural gas pipelines. At each location, elders recited Beaver place names and explained their origin. They recounted stories of Dreamers who had camped there, and described the songs that they brought from heaven to those places. They talked about what these places had been like generations ago, and how the landscape had changed. They explained to the young people present how important it was to learn their language, and to hold on to their traditions. They went to great lengths to ensure that the images and audio documented by the youth correctly conveyed the messages they were sending to their own communities and the unknown audience that would watch these videos over the Internet; in some cases, small trees were cut down if they blocked certain features of the landscape that needed to be visible behind the storyteller. Doig River community members and linguistic anthropologists are now translating these narratives. As subtitled video clips, they will be fundamental elements of a virtual tour of

important Dane-zaa places, contextualized by their connections to the Prophet tradition, prior movements of Dane-zaa people, hunting traditions, language revitalization initiatives, and community values. They will also make a valuable contribution to local language revitalization initiatives.

In consultation with community members, Amber Ridington and I are now working with a team of web designers to translate the community's vision of the project into a website that will bring Dane-zaa articulations of their own history into the Virtual Museum of Canada. The website will feature descriptions of the project and the process that it initiated, the story of the drum, a tour of the places we visited, a detailed explanation of the prophet tradition, a page of stories and songs, and other resources such as Beaver language lessons and links to other Doig River Media projects.

Grounded in Dane-zaa history and social relations, the story of Gaahyae's drum actively defined the process of curating Dane-zaa stories and song. It also resulted in an incredible amount of linguistic documentation related to place, which may not have been possible for Volkswagen linguists out-

side of such a community driven project. This project shows how collaboration between communities and researchers can produce valuable results for all involved.

C O N C L U S I O N

In the way that museums have had to re-evaluate their justifications for retaining indigenous peoples' cultural property, visual anthropologists and linguistic anthropologists have been challenged to rethink methodologies that reproduce colonial dynamics and hegemonies of representation. Collaboration between anthropologists and members of the Beaver and Doig River First

Nations has initiated a repatriation of control over production processes and the representations through which these communities define their history as well as their language and its relationship to present identity. A strong argument for repatriation comes from the understanding that aboriginal peoples have a different basis for establishing legitimate sources of knowledge, for integrating knowledge in their social systems, and for connecting knowledge to wider systems of belief and oral traditions. When processes surrounding the use of digital technologies and repatriated cultural materials are returned to aboriginal communities, traditional knowledge can be re-contextualized to address present concerns and dilemmas faced by communities as they negotiate legacies of colonialism and domination.

Acknowledgements

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Thank you to Amber Ridington (co-manager in the Dane-zaa VMC project), Pat Moore, and Peter Biella, for conversations preceding this article.

Kate Hennessey is a Ph.D student in Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. She was awarded the 2005 Polar Commission Scholarship.

Figure 4
 Draft homepage of the Virtual Museum of Canada web exhibit Dane wajich — Dane-zaa Stories and Songs: Dreamers and the Land (original image in colour).
 © Doig River First Nation.



MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY'S LABRADOR INSTITUTE

Martha MacDonald

Memorial University has had a formal presence in Labrador since the 1970's, when field workers carried out extension services consisting of a film and video project in Cartwright and Nain. This project was modelled on the Fogo Island Process, through which rural Newfoundland communities brought their concerns and demands to politicians in distant Ottawa. The project used these media as tools for community development, bringing together communities to discuss problems and present them to government people in St. John's. In the Labrador of the 1970's where communications and transportation were problematic, this was a powerful process that helped to shape the identity of Labrador as a region. In the late 1970's the university established the Labrador Institute of Northern Studies, directed by the late Dr. Tony Williamson, to promote community development, extension services, and socio-economic research, and to provide a link with the campus in St. John's.

Successive directors nurtured this aspect of the Institute's work while adding a research and teaching focus that in its heyday saw twenty employees providing training in programs such as the natural resource technician program, advising students on distance education, and carrying out research in the physical and social sciences.

In 1997 the university changed the focus of the Institute's activities and renamed it the Labrador Institute of Memorial University. Today the Institute has a permanent staff of three people as well as a Labrador Associate, who work to carry out its mandate of bringing Labrador to the university, and Memorial to Labrador.

The direction of the Institute's activities depends to some extent on the interests and experience of the director, and for the past three years under the direction of Dr. Tim Borlase the Institute has stressed projects that deal with language, culture, heritage, and the performing arts. Two of these captured a great deal of interest in Labrador: the recent Mug-Up project, wherein we visited seventeen communities and collected stories from Labrador's past, which were then published in *Them Days Magazine*, and the Labrador Explorations Symposium, a gathering of international scholars and local explorers who shared two days of lectures, panels, and a re-enactment of the departure of wilderness explorer Mina Benson Hubbard, one hundred years exactly from the day she departed North West River on June 27th 1905 to complete her dead husband's doomed expedition to Ungava Bay. The papers and photographs will be published in a special edition of *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*. Fall also saw a national conference on aboriginal art take place through our efforts, providing instruction and inspiration to over 100 teachers and bringing together a number of Canadian aboriginal artists to produce a collective piece of art. Chief among our annual activities has been the Labrador Creative Arts Festival, which this fall celebrated 30 years of original theatre created by the students of Labrador communities.

The Labrador Institute has also been a lead in assembling experts on very different subjects such as transportation and potential research partnerships, co-ordinating researchers from the main campus and community partners who work with them. We serve on committees addressing many

issues of regional concern, and offer assistance to researchers from St. John's who want to form research partnerships with Labrador communities.

Labrador could be described as a place where the north meets the east, with some characteristics of both, but life in this region, with its transportation challenges, rich indigenous heritage and resource development momentum, has a firmly northern orientation (as many of us have heard, "It's the attitude, not the latitude!"). The Labrador Institute participates in a number of northern initiatives, including the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, the Northern Scientific Training Program, the Atlantic Coastal Access Program, and several International Polar Year proposals.

As times change and work progresses with the newly formed Nunatsiavut government, Memorial University is reviewing its work in Labrador and planning a new strategy. This will take advantage of interest in university education in several ways. The College of the North Atlantic works closely with the Institute, and we are partners in the College-University Transfer Year which provides first-year university education in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, ensuring small classes, cultural familiarity and greater chances of success for Labrador students. The Institute hopes to begin offering second-year courses as well in order to expand offerings and to provide training in selected

areas of self-government to interested members of the Labrador community. We also continue to provide information to students wishing to pursue distance education or to travel to St. John's and Corner Brook to take courses in the regular classroom.

The Institute has been involved in helping develop specialized courses, the current one being the Nunatsiavut government-sponsored Inuit Nursing Access Program. Delivered through the College of the North Atlantic, this program will eventually see sixteen students complete their Bachelor of Nursing degree through Memorial with the aid of the Western Memorial Hospital. This approach to providing Labrador communities with much-needed professionals recruited from the communities themselves is the model which all institutions would like to see followed to resolve recruitment and retention problems in Labrador.

As the Labrador Institute awaits the results of the present search for a new director we continue to maintain links with groups in the area, provide outreach activities and carry out the university's work in the Labrador region, linking researchers to communities to provide services as diverse as aboriginal health research, labour market development and archeological field schools for students. The kind of work only a university can do is essential in this time of development for the benefit and well-being of the 29,000 people who call this huge territory home.

Martha MacDonald is Program Coordinator at the Labrador Institute.

BOOK REVIEW

Terry Rudden

Something New In the Air, by Lorna Roth. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005. ISBN 0773528563.

Television arrived in the North uninvited forty years ago. The extension of "national" television services to the Canadian Arctic was intended to provide programming to transient, non-Aboriginal workers in the Arctic. There was no thought of consulting Inuit and First Nations residents about the invasion by video of their traditional lands; and the idea that these original inhabitants might someday be controlling and producing their own media services would have seemed an absurdity.

The abrupt introduction of satellite TV six years later flooded isolated hamlets, reserves and remote communities with programming from southern Canada and the world. Within months, communities without daily newspapers were bombarded with images from Detroit and Hollywood – images in which their own lives, communities, languages and peoples were completely absent.

Flash forward three decades. Inuktitut and Dene language programming is available daily in 8 million Canadian homes. Northern broadcasters and film-makers are winning international praise and awards. Aboriginal broadcasting has been recognized in federal legislation.

This extraordinary evolution – the creation and explosive growth of the indigenous media sector in Canada – is chronicled in a new publication by Lorna Roth of Concordia University. *Something New in the Air* is a richly documented and timely

account of the way Aboriginal broadcasters, in just thirty years, have changed the way we watch, study and regulate broadcasting in Canada.

For decades Dr. Roth worked in an informal community of Aboriginal journalists and filmmakers, non-Aboriginal consultants, bureaucrats, researchers, and trainers, northern and southern, who participated in the creation of a unique social movement focused on the growth of native media. *Something New in the Air* provides the definitive account of the stages by which Indigenous peoples recognized the power and the threat represented by the new technologies and organized to harness them. A series of small, community based events in the 1970s – an NFB animation workshop in Cape Dorset, a roving community radio transmitter in Northern Ontario, a communications policy paper prepared by the Inuit of Nunavik – set the stage for the creation of community and regional broadcast organizations, the establishment of the Native Broadcasting Policy and Northern Native Broadcast Access Program in 1983, the launch of Television Northern Canada in 1991, and ultimately the creation of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN).

From its earliest stages Dr. Roth (and other researchers like Gail Valaskakis, Tom Wilson, and Mark Stiles), studied the emerging media organizations and products from a developmental communications perspective. But her theoretical approach was complemented by hands-on experience in the field, working with Inuit producers on the creation of such projects as *Takuginai*, IBC's ground-breaking Inuktitut children's series.

Dr. Roth's unusual combination of academic and practical perspectives lends

depth and a personal dimension to *Something New in the Air* that sets it apart from the many studies of Aboriginal media conducted to date. Some of the book's most insightful passages occur in her more personal reflections, including her description of a visit with an older, unilingual Inuk, sharing a companionable silence as they both watch *The Edge of Night*, a soap opera so popular in the north that meetings and lunch hours were often scheduled around its broadcasts. Moments like this capture the human dimension of northern broadcasting, and bring to vivid life the complexity and contradictions inherent in harnessing new technologies to serve ancient cultures and languages – particularly when those cultures are themselves in the process of transformation.

The importance of this movement goes far beyond its most obvious outcome, the availability of Aboriginal programming in northern and southern Canadian homes. Most previous studies and media writing have treated Aboriginal broadcasting as a “niche” service, just another of specialty channels created to meet needs of a specialized audience. Roth points out the important impact that the emergence of this sector has had within the context of Canada's communications policy infrastructure, and more broadly, on theories of development communications. Indigenous media was both informed by, and helped to redefine, analytical models which evolved from a diffusionist perspective to more sophisticated, communitarian theories, as northern populations

assumed greater participatory control over the content and the use of communications technology in their homelands.

Any single volume exploration of a subject this rich will leave unanswered questions. A number of the issues touched on by Roth deserve deeper exploration: What is the meaning of “journalism” in an Aboriginal context? How can the evolving APTN simultaneously meet the desire of its original, northern audiences for programming that reflects their realities, while competing effectively as a national network for audi-

ences and advertising dollars in major southern and urban markets?

Perhaps the most important question raised by the book is that of the future. APTN and Canada's Aboriginal broadcasters and filmmakers are attracting growing audiences and interest around the world; but ironically, back home in Canada, the entire concept of public broadcasting, and the federal role of broadcast policymakers and regulators, are being challenged. Since the 1950s Canada's broadcast policy has reflected the principle that audience needs



cannot be met by a broadcast system driven and defined strictly by market considerations, and that government has a role, through regulation and provision of funding support, in shaping national broadcast services. The emergence of Aboriginal broadcasting exemplifies that principle. *Something New in the Air* is a powerful, timely and much-needed reminder of what can be achieved when community needs, government policy, and technological resources are aligned.

Terry Rudden, a partner in the Consilium Consulting Group Inc., is a specialist in aboriginal broadcasting and organizational development.

NEW BOOKS

Long term environmental change in Arctic and Antarctic Lakes,

edited by R. Pienitz, Department of Geography, Université Laval, Québec; M.S.V. Douglas, Department of Geology, University of Toronto, Ontario; and J.P. Smol, Department of Biology, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. Series: *Developments in Paleoenvironmental Research, Volume 8*. Springer, 2004. ISBN: 1-4020-2125-9.

The abundance of lakes throughout the Arctic and Antarctic makes paleolimnological approaches especially powerful tools to assist interpretations of environmental change. This book provides a synthesis of the broad spectrum of techniques available for generating long-term environmental records from circumpolar lakes, in addition to providing overviews of the geographic extent of paleolimnological work completed thus far in these regions. It explores the diverse ways in which paleolimnology is used to address the pressing and emerging environmental issues of high-latitude regions. By providing both an introduction and in-depth reviews, this volume is of interest to students and advanced researchers alike who are studying Earth, atmospheric and environmental sciences. (Springer)

The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab,

edited and translated by Hartmut Lutz. Foreword by Alootook Ipellie. Photographs by Hans-Ludwig Blohm. University of Ottawa Press, 2005. ISBN: 0776606026.

In August 1880, businessman Adrian Jakobsen convinced eight Inuit men, women, and children from Hebron and Nakvak, Labrador to accompany him to Europe to be "exhibited" in zoos and Völkerschauen (ethnographic shows). Abraham, Maria, Noggasak, Paingo, Sara, Terrianiak, Tobias, and Ulrike agreed, partly for the money and partly out of curiosity to see the wonders of Europe, which they had heard about from the Moravian missionaries.

The Inuit arrived in the fall of 1880 and were much talked and written about in the local press. Meanwhile, the Moravian missionaries, who had begged them not to embark on the journey, were busily writing letters and trying to stay in contact with Abraham and his family; the Christians in the group. By January all eight Inuit had died of smallpox.

This story is told through several different perspectives, from Abraham's diary itself and the Moravian letters and reports, to a scholarly article, newspaper pieces, and even advertising. An extensive photo section, including portraits done of the Inuit visitors, scans of some of the original documents in German, and photos of the abandoned Moravian mission in Hebron today, round out the story. It is the earliest known Inuit autobiography ever written. (University of Ottawa Press)

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**The 15th International
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